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GUIDE TO THE LITERATURE OF CITIES: Abstracts And Bibliography
Part VIII: The Metropolitan Region

Morris Zeitlin

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GUIDE TO THE LITERATURE OF CITIES:

ABSTRACTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

PART VIII: THE METROPOLITAN REGION

by

Morris Zeitlin

INTRODUCTION

Lacking an informing urban theory, social scientists and critics have been hard put to explain the rapid change that has overrun the modern city. They have searched for its meaning, speculated about its course, and offered opinions that ranged from visions of doom to hopeful beliefs that the city will somehow endure.

The confusion on how to cope with the change is greatest in the United States where, despite pretensions to the contrary, exploitation of urban resources is least restrained. Other countries, notably the Scandinavian and England, have done better having forced, thanks to working-class political intervention, some controls on the freedom to exploit the cities for private gain. The private ownership and exploitation of urban resources, however, severely limits the extent of city planning and the ability to implement even modest urban reforms in any capitalist country.

As a rule, urban scholars have tended to look at the details rather than the totality of urban change. They have examined the central city, the suburbs, satellite towns, land use, transportation, housing, slums, urban government, urban appearance, poverty, racism, and alienation all in relative isolation rather than in their interrelatedness within the political entirety of the metropolitan region. There have been relatively few exceptions to this rule.

Few urban scholars have tried to analyze the metropolis on a regional scale, and these have focused mainly on development of systems approaches and the application of mathematical models in admittedly imperfect social data. Among the exceptional efforts in urban scholarship, the most notable has been the work of Hans Blumenfeld who attempted to reveal the dialectical process of the historic change from city to metropolis.

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A brief glossary is here in order. The terms "metropolis," "metropolitan," "region," and "regionalism" have been variously used and need some clarification. Some authors refer to "metropolis" as the center of an exploiting political power as opposed to "colony" or the area of its exploitation. This imprecise usage wrongly substitutes "metropolis" or "metropolitan" for "imperialism" or "imperialist"; a metropolis -- an urban area comprising a central city and its satellite suburbs, towns and villages -- may be found on the territory of both imperialist nations and the nations they exploit. The above reference to "metropolis" is characteristic of the "regionalists" (Lewis Mumford and others) who consider also the semi-rural and rural areas around big cities as "colonies" of the "metropolis." The "regionalists," who advocate an ideal pattern of human settlement composed of planned regions which comprise clusters of small towns, use the term "region" with this special meaning in mind.

In planning literature, "region" has been used to define various geographic areas based on either economic, ecological or other special considerations. Here we are concerned mainly with that geographic area which consists of urban settlements closely related to a central city -- the metropolitan region. This section includes,

however, the abstracts of works which deal with other kinds of region, especially with attempts to develop scientific methods of regional analysis and planning.

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The abstracts of this section are arranged in the following sequence: (1) General discussion on urban change within the metropolitan region. (2) Reformist and utopian proposals in response to this change. (3) The British achievements and failures in dealing with the metropolitan region. (4) Attempts of American scholars to develop analytical and planning methodology in dealing with metropolitan and other regions. (5) Abstracts of works by Hans Blumenfeld explaining contemporary urban change as the revolutionary culmination of an evolutionary process in which the city has been transforming into a qualitatively higher, more complex, form of human settlement -- the metropolis.

THE METROPOLITAN REGION -- ABSTRACTS OF SELECTED WORKS

Hawley, Amos H. The Changing Shape of Metropolitan America: Deconcentration Since 1920. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956. 177pp. Tables. Charts.

Drawing on 1900-1950 United States census data, Hawley traces the pattern of growth, change, and population redistribution in metropolitan areas:

Some of his findings:

1. Between 1900 and 1920, urban populations tended to concentrate in, and close to, central cities. About 1920, deconcentration set in and accelerated through 1950. It increased the radial distance from the city center to the periphery from ten to twenty-five miles -- an hours' travel with the facilities available in the respective periods. This movement, paralleled the growth of car ownership, roads, and power and telecommunication networks. By the middle of the 20th century, the metropolis "has assumed a dominant position in the urban settlement pattern of the United States."
2. Since 1900, the rate of metropolitan population growth exceeded the rate of total population growth by about 50 percent, and the growth rate of population outside metropolitan areas by 100 to 300 percent.
3. Within metropolitan areas the proportion of population in satellite units has increased steadily from 23 percent in the 44 metropolitan areas of 1910 to 42 percent in the 168 areas of 1950. The movement from central cities headed mainly toward small settlements on their peripheries at an intensity inversely proportional to the distance from the center, leaving the farthest places with the lowest rate of growth.
4. The primary rapid growth of central cities at the expense of their satellites and the subsequent centrifugal movement from the centers to the satellites suggest "that the maturation of centers as a requisite to the expansion of settlement in satellite areas."
5. Since 1900, the Western metropolitan areas grew fastest and the Northern slowest. The relative growth of satellites was highest in the West from 1900 to 1920, but it gained momentum and took the lead in the North since 1920. It has been consistently low in the South.
6. "In every census year since 1910 metropolitan areas in the West have had the most widely scattered population. Deconcentration has been the dominating trend in population redistribution within Western areas since the beginning of the century. That trend began in Northern areas in 1920 and in Southern areas in 1930."

Bogue, Donald J. The Structure of the Metropolitan Community: A Study of Dominance and Subdominance. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan, 1949. 210pp. Charts. Graphs. Tables.

To verify or disprove the hypotheses advanced by N.S.B. Gras and R. D. McKenzie on the relationship between the central cities and their outlying communities, Bogue studied and analyzed the 1940 structure of all American metropolitan areas. He examined the relative distribution of population, manufacturing, wholesaling, retailing, and personal services in the metropolitan centers and their respective satellite cities and county units.

Some of his findings and conclusions:

1. The big city influences the population distribution within an area much larger than its immediate vicinity. Only by studying the entire metropolitan region can its pattern of population distribution, today and in the future, be understood.
2. Great cities, or metropolises, dominate the social and economic organization and the moral and intellectual life of technologically advanced societies. They are the "foci about which the life of modern nations is organized."
3. The dominance of the central city "arises from (its high) degree of specialization in (various economic) functions... and from an ability to foster individual development in its immediate vicinity by provision of favorable combinations of the factors of production. Other communities (in the metropolitan region specialize) in other activities and (become) dependent upon the central city for (the) goods and services... (they need) but cannot provide locally." The dominant city's market center "moderates a complex intercommunity exchange, and thereby integrates the activities (within the whole region). The single hinterland community must rely upon the central city to preserve the balance which is thus attained among the parts."
4. Smaller cities in the metropolitan region are subdominant to the central city. They depend upon it "through specialization in one or more (activity or function) as an intermediary between the metropolis and the outlying areas."
5. A metropolitan region comprises "many subdominant, influent, and subinfluent communities, distributed in a definite pattern about a dominant city, and bound together in a territorial division of labor through a dependence upon the activities of the dominant city.... The metropolitan community...is an adaptation to the (physical) environment. It utilizes the (ever changing) techniques of production and exchange which are common to...industrial-commercial cultures in order to exploit environmental resources and maintain...security against catastrophe."

6. "The importance of the local hinterland community as a unit in social organization will not diminish in time. Such communities may increase or decrease in number. They may gain additional functions from other hinterland communities or from the central city, or lose them.... But in the foreseeable future...intercommunity exchange remains the basis for the metropolitan pattern of population distribution. The probability remains high that there will be a definite pattern of population distribution about points which supply a variety of needs to a dependent population, and that this pattern will reflect the manner in which the entire population supports itself."

Vernon, Raymond. Metropolis 1985: An Introduction of the Findings of the New York Metropolitan Region Study. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1960. 252pp. Charts. Tables. Maps.

The ninth and concluding work in a study of the New York Region by Harvard University's Graduate School of Public Administration for the New York Regional Plan Association.* The work interprets the study's findings regarding the forces that shape metropolitan areas in general and the New York Metropolitan Region in particular. It reviews and analyzes: the origin of the Region; the growth of its industries; its mix of goods and services; moving of goods; plants and warehouses; external economics; production characteristics; people, jobs and wages; taxes; changing neighborhoods and suburbanization; local governments; transportation; and water supply.

The study's task was "to analyze the key economic and demographic features of the Region and to project them...to 1985". Apologizing for omitting unpredictables (wars, depressions, technological changes, shifts in public policy) and "major continuing shifts in the economy," and for the guess nature of his predictions, Vernon proceeds to "portray the people and the jobs of the New Metropolitan Region in qualitative terms for the years 1965, 1975 and 1985."

Recognizing that "the Region is exposed to most of the cultural and economic forces which create changes in the rest of the country," the author first projects the future of the nation and then tries to determine "what part the Region is likely to play in that performance." He admits that projections bear the risk of considerable error, nevertheless he draws them because "a careful guess is better than a heedless one."

* The other works are: Hoover, Edgar M. and Raymond Vernon. Anatomy of a Metropolis; Helfgott, Roy B., W. Eric Gustafson and James M. Hung. Made in New York; Handlin, Oscar. The Newcomers; Segal, Martin. Wages in the Metropolis; Robbins, Sidney M. and Nester E. Terleckyj. Money Metropolis; Chinitz, Benjamin. Freight and the Metropolis; Lichtenberg, Robert M. One-Tenth of a Nation.

Vernon then analyzes national economic trends; identifies variables and indicates assumptions made in the projection of these trends; relates the projections to the New York Region and adjusts them to allow for the Region's peculiarities.

The study leads Vernon to doubt the "image of the Region as a giant cluster of human activity actively held together by a great nub of jobs at the center. Instead...(it) affords a picture of a region in which the centripetal pull is weakening...."

Hall, Peter. London 2000. London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1963. 220pp. Illustrated. Photos. Drawings. Tables. Maps.

Geographer Hall examines the London Region's redevelopment problems, its economic and social limitations upon the range of possible redevelopment actions, and the open choices for action. Although he deals chiefly with uniquely British metropolitan problems, his thought is relevant to modern metropolises in general.

Some of the author's findings, comments and conclusions:

1. In response to economic forces, the London Region will continue to grow. Contrary to what advisory plans of the early 1940's proposed and expected, it cannot be contained because "...economic forces cannot be halted or reversed, but only channeled to a limited extent."
2. London proper will lose jobs and people to the rest of the Region which will gain about 1,500,000 people between 1961 and 1980, and 1,800,000 more by the year 2000. The Region will need 1,800,000 to 2,500,000 more dwelling units before 2000 in additional new towns within 40 to 100 miles from the city.
3. Piecemeal improvement of London's street system is futile. The city needs a radical reorganization of traffic flow and placing of pedestrian and motor traffic on separate levels. It needs transportation reforms based on a pricing system that will balance the use of alternative transportation modes, and a set of social accounts that will realistically assess the social and economic benefits of public transportation.
4. To encourage and speed the physical redevelopment of its center, London might: (1) Reform its tax system to provide a depreciation-allowance schedule for the useful life of each piece of real-estate, coupled with a sharply rising obsolescence tax toward the end of this period. This would force landlords to redevelop, or sell for redevelopment, rather than continue use of obsolete buildings. (2) Grant shares to former owners of property condemned for redevelopment. (3) Impose a land-gains tax on development profits.

5. Cities and nearby towns now comprise urban regions. They no longer form adequate geographic units of organization and should be integrated within a metropolitan plan leading toward regional government with powers similar to those of American states.

Hall concludes his work with a utopian sketch of what life might be like in the London Region in the year 2000 were his ideas accepted and implemented.

Hall, Peter. The World Cities. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966. 256pp. Illustrated. Photos. Maps. Tables. Bibliography.

To illustrate the universal characteristics of the modern metropolis, Hall chose seven of the world's leading metropolitan centers: London, Paris, the Holland complex of cities, the Rhine-Ruhr complex, Moscow, New York, and Tokyo. He analyzes the causes of their growth, describes the problems their rapid growth has created, and examines the plans their respective governments have evolved to meet these problems. He also reviews the growth of population in the world's most advanced countries during the current century, the pattern of population movement from rural areas to cities throughout the world, and the role of the metropolis in recent history.

Common to all metropolises, Hall notes, are great economic and political power, a huge population, vast trade and transport facilities, and leadership in culture and communications. Early in the century, some students of the city had expected that the growing use of electric power, motor vehicles, and telecommunication would free industry to locate anywhere and decentralize the cities. But they failed to see that industrial growth vastly increased administrative, planning, and marketing functions. While neotechnic industrial production could decentralize, the latter functions could not. For they, and various growing center-bound industries, need close contact with a multitude of other linked organizations, specialized services, a large pool of skilled personnel, and an array of educational, cultural and professional institutions to sustain them. This explains the phenomenon of the growing metropolis.

Historic evidence, Hall concludes, points to the continuing growth of metropolises and their expansion into suburbs and satellite towns.

Fisher, Robert Moore, Editor. The Metropolis in Modern Life.
Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1955. 401pp.

An integrated analysis of the metropolis in a collection of papers read by scholars of many nations at the Columbia University Bicentennial Conference Series.

Part One of the volume's eight parts examines "The Dynamic Role of the City in Social Development" in a rapidly urbanizing world.

Part Two considers the "Contributions of the Metropolitan Community to the Political Institutions of a Free Society." In his paper, "Political Influences of the Metropolis," William Anderson asserts that "the seamy side of city life... should not be exaggerated.... For the forces of education and enlightenment, liberty and humanity, human dignity and integrity, find...their most effective exponents and leadership in the great cities (and there)...mobilize most quickly and spring into action...." Luther Gulick, in his "Metropolitan Political Developments," observes that "the major institutions in (American) society were not evolved by or for metropolitan communities...(rather, they) have evolved to hold in balance the forces developed within the metropolis."

Part Three weighs the "Economic Advantages and Disadvantages of Metropolitan Concentration." P. Sargent Florence, in a study of "Economic Efficiency in the Metropolis," shows that "concentration (of interrelated activities in metropolises) is an economic advantage to the business, scientific, and cultural life of a country" and concludes that some metropolitan economic activities could be decentralized without economic loss. "It is a question of the scientific selection of activities," says he, "and of who is to undertake them." He also demonstrates that "many of the economic and sociological problems of concentration are common to different nations," hence the scientific value of international comparison. Richard U. Rathliff, in his "Efficiency and the Location of Urban Activities," sees urban locational changes as "natural adoptions to new conditions which move toward higher, not lower, total efficiency" and indicates that "the aim of the master plan is to maximize the efficiency of the urban area through an arrangement of land uses which will minimize the costs of friction." In his paper "Modern City Planning," Steen Eiler Rasmussen observes that flexible laws of its changing inner life govern the modern city. A city plan must be, therefore, a flexible long-term working program rather than a fixed plan. In her paper, Catherine Bauer insists that without "Public Understanding and Debate" of the big alternatives in the planning process, there will not be enough force to back up the best possible plan. "Controversy will (therefore) rage over certain concrete aspects of the plan that have immediate meaning to one set of interests or another, and the over-all issue will be lost."

Part Four deals with "The Influence of the Metropolis on Concepts, Rules, and Institutions Relating to Property." Harold L. Reeve, in his "Recent Developments in the Law of Property," finds that government has been forced to intervene on behalf of the majority of metropolitan citizens "into areas formerly occupied solely by private business." He predicts "further lessening of free choices of the individual property owner and a greater measure of social control and governmental participation in matters relating to property." Myres S. McDougal, in "The Impact of the Metropolis Upon Land Law," observes that "all important constitutional issues (regarding public land-use allocation, planning and development) have been resolved.... The difficult problem...is...creating a consensus of opinion in our national community which will demand a more effective use of the legal alternatives now available."

Part Five contemplates the "Influence of Science and Technology on the Metropolis."

Part Six discusses the "Impact of the Metropolis on the Professions," and finds that "one consequence of specialization in the metropolis appears to be that a disproportionate number of professional men tend to be found there." Sir Alexander Morris Carr-Saunders, in his "Metropolitan Conditions and the Traditional Professional Relationships," observes that metropolitan conditions have transformed professionals from the men of broad culture and competence of the past into the present narrowly specialized experts without any claim to social leadership beyond the limit of their special competence.

Part Seven discusses "The Impact of the Metropolis on the Spiritual Life of Man." Joseph Follett remarks, in his "The Effects of City Life Upon Spiritual Life," that the metropolitan church goer differs from his small town or village counterpart in that "he asks questions and protests...is often anxious, restless, scrupulous...is more exacting with his co-religionists and the clergy."

Part Eight appraises "The Search for the Ideal City."

Bollens, John C. and Henry J. Schmandt. The Metropolis: Its People, Politics, and Economic Life. New York: Harper & Row, 1965. 643pp. Maps. Graphs. Extensive footnote references. Bibliographical essay.

A comprehensive synthesis of the writings and research of many authors in political science, sociology, economics and related fields to explain the structure, functions and behavior of the metropolis. In selecting their material, the authors "sought to utilize as fully as possible...empirical investigations into urban phenomena and the relevant theory that has emerged."

Following a brief introductory chapter which documents the rising interest in metropolitan affairs, the authors discuss the spatial, social, economic, governmental, and political structures of the metropolis. They describe the changes in age and occupation of the metropolitan population; the labor force and the economic base of the metropolitan economy; the city, county and special district governments in the metropolis; the differences between the central city and the suburbs; political parties and government offices and officials.

Several chapters deal with the metropolitan problems which spur the movement for metropolitan government: the fiscal dilemma of local governments, urban sprawl, obsolescence of the central city core, air and water pollution, water supply shortage, loss or open space, etc. Other chapters illuminate the constraints that prevent governmental coordination within the metropolis.

One chapter discusses the "Social and Economic Maladies" of racial segregation, crime and delinquency.

Of the last three chapters one details state and federal responses to metropolitan problems, another surveys metropolitan growth throughout the world, and the last presents a summary and a forecast.

Meyerson, Martin and Barbara Terrett. "Metropolis Lost, Metropolis Regained." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 314, November 1957, pp. 1-9.

A review and a critical examination of recent economic and demographic forecasts of the 1975 American urban scene. The validity of current forecasts is questioned because they are made in a boom period in which social science tends to accommodate itself to a prevailing wave of optimism. As in the past, say the authors, unpredictable "human behavior may again confound the forecasters."

The authors examine some problems needing study and guidance for planning and action.

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, The.
"Metropolis in Ferment," Vol. 314, November 1957.

An issue devoted to the metropolis and its future.

The participating authors, the editors say (Meyerson and Terrett in "Metropolis Lost, Metropolis Regained" -- see abstract), agree collectively that the essentially sound life of cities preserves and keeps them in balance over time. They examine, however, some problems which need intensive investigation, evaluation, discussion and understanding as a prelude to planning and action.

In "Values for Urban Living," Margaret Mead speculates that technological change may strip future cities of all their present production and consumption functions. But their unique functions in providing contact among many kinds of human creativity will remain, possibly to be met by cities that are centers for the new conference methods of multimodal communication.

Raymond Vernon ("Production and Distribution in the Large Metropolis") examines the present and future production and distribution roles of metropolitan areas; the problems that future growth will bring; the implications of the outward movement of manufacturing to the suburbs and beyond; and the consequences of the relative growth of business services in metropolitan areas. He relates these trends to the outward shift of population and discusses some of the resulting problems.

Looking backward from the year 1982, Wilfred Owen ("Transportation") describes imagined progress in transportation. He expects far reaching changes in aviation and equally important changes in the urban environment which will make ease of movement in cities possible.

Philip M. Klutznick ("Provision of Shelter") estimates and thinks that by 1982: population growth will call for two to three million new housing units per year; continued prosperity will almost eliminate poverty; and improved transportation will continue to expand cities. These trends will force greater federal aid to private housing construction, new forms of public housing, and large-scale renewal of obsolete central areas. But housing design and construction will change little.

Nelson N. Foote ("Community Services") expects that by 1982 Americans, with their higher income, education, leisure and ability for organizing mutual aid, will rely less on professional assistance by public and private service agencies and more on themselves.

To overcome the metropolitan multi-government problem, Luther Gulick ("Metropolitan Organization") suggests four novel political inventions in government for metropolitan areas.

Lyle C. Fitch ("Metropolitan Financial Problems") thinks that the financial problems of metropolitan areas -- the centers of income and wealth -- stem from the lack of good machinery. He proposes several tax and financing innovations for metropolitan governments.

Frank P. Zeidler ("Urbanism and Government, 1957-1977") thinks that, barring an atomic war, the problem of expanding urban areas will worsen. The conflicts between city and suburbs, urban and rural areas, labor and business, white and non-white, and criminals and society, will force state and federal dominance over metropolitan areas. In a rejoinder, Wallace S. Sayre thinks that the common interests of urban and suburban voters will make the state and federal governments more urban in outlook and policies.

Carl J. Friedrich ("Creative Methods in Urban Political Change") proposes the use of the extended interview with men in key positions to improve forecasting metropolitan development through an early detection of political issues and emerging trends that would suggest possible courses for planning and action.

William Holford ("Plans and Programs") sees growing redevelopment, despite criticism and obstructionism, and increasing appreciation of comprehensive planning for new environments. City planners, he states, have begun to realize that unlimited growth does not always mean progress, and that planning must take place within an overall framework.

Today short-term economic and functional considerations determine most decisions that affect the physical aspects of our cities, state Willo van Moltke and Edward N. Bacon ("In Pursuit of Urbanity"). "However, we can in our time design cities which are functional, ordered, and aesthetically enjoyable."

John Ely Burchard discusses "The Urban Aesthetics."

In a philosophical discussion, David Riesman ("The Suburban Dislocation") considers the socio-cultural changes in the lives of suburbanites and their implications for the future of metropolitan society and its culture.

Julia J. Henderson ("Urbanization and the World Community") reports that the rate of urban growth in underdeveloped countries exceeds the rate of industrialization. The problems of unemployment, food, education, and housing strain the resources of these countries to the breaking point. But she sees hope

that these countries may apply planned economic development and the techniques of regional and city planning, for solving their problems, on a wider scale than the North American countries do.

In the guise of retrospect, Paul N. Ylvisaker ("Innovation and Evolution: Bridge to the Future Metropolis") attempts to project the progress that will have been made in metropolitan areas by 1980.

Gottman, Jean. Megalopolis: The Urbanized Northeastern Seaboard of the United States.* New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1961. 810pp. Maps. Charts. Tables. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1964 (paperback edition).

Geographer Gottman reports on his long study of the urbanized strip along the northeastern seaboard of the United States stretching from Portland, Maine to Washington, D.C. He sees its cities growing together into one supermetropolitan area he calls "Megalopolis."** Megalopolis is a new type of region, the prototype of like regions that will appear the world over as city growth, division of labor, and development of resources reach new high levels. Megalopolis is therefore a significant laboratory for the nation and the world.

Analyzing statistical data and recognized trends, the author strives to understand the forces that have shaped Megalopolis, the region's basic problems, its social and economic processes, and the implications of all this to the development of other, like, regions.

The volume's Part I traces the region's history and studies its "dynamics of urbanization." Part II examines the region's mixture of urban and rural areas and its changing land uses; its movements of people, goods and services; its specialized agriculture; and its governmental changes. Part III analyzes the region's manufacturing, commerce, service industries, transportation and traffic. And Part IV studies the region's population and its communities, and presents the author's general conclusions.

* For a popular abridged version of this work, see Von Eckardt, Wolf. The Challenge of Megalopolis, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1964, 126pp.

** For a like view see Yale University Directive Committee on Regional Planning, The Case for Regional Planning: With Special Reference to New England. For a dissenting view, see Blumenfeld, Hans. "The Modern Metropolis."

Some of the study's chief findings:

1. Megalopolis, the most densely populated region in the United States, contains many rivaling communities having no common loyalty or recognition of common interests. It consists chiefly of suburbs spread around central cities. Suburbanization has reduced its city population densities and increased average densities throughout Megalopolis.
2. Stretching along the Atlantic Ocean, having easy access to inland regions and a moderate climate, Megalopolis is ideally located for shipping and trade. It has become the world's most active cross-roads for people, ideas and goods.
3. As big manufacturing has increasingly deserted its cities, the urban centers have increasingly specialized in management, banking, government, advertising, wholesaling, radio and television, publishing, education, the arts, etc. They have thus attracted and developed a variety of people, skills and diverse activities.
4. Vegetation still dominates the landscape in large parts of Megalopolis because: 1) agriculture consumes more land than cities and suburbs do, and 2) the intensive farming typical of Megalopolis (chiefly dairy and poultry), needing less space than traditional farming, expanded the woodlands. Also, "sections that look rural actually function largely as suburbs.... Even the farms...are seldom worked by people whose only occupation and income are properly agricultural."
5. The chief problems of Megalopolis are: 1) transportation--auto traffic congestion and deteriorating rail transit, and 2) Leap-frogging urban sprawl which "outflanks some farms while it overruns others." The latter creates suburban gray zones which land speculators buy up, hold and neglect while waiting for land prices to rise.

Among Gottman's conclusions:

1. Megalopolis is better understood through study of the interrelationship between its numerous and interlocking social and economic forces and processes rather than its growth trends or technological development.
2. Megalopolis will continue to grow, become more urbanized and more densely settled within prescribed geographical limits. It will undergo constant social change that will profoundly influence family life, social and esthetic standards, morals and values.
3. The environmental problems of Megalopolis are man made. The region needs a critical self examination and must meet its challenges boldly through comprehensive regional planning.

4. The forecasts that dispersal of all city functions is inevitable and that modern communications make large cities obsolete, are wrong. "The great economic and cultural strength of Megalopolis comes from its cities" and their dense concentrations of a variety of skilled, talented and enterprising people.

5. The problems of Megalopolis are not signs of pathology or decay. Rather, they are the "growing pains in the endless process of civilization." Contrary to pessimistic criticism, "available statistics demonstrate that in Megalopolis the population is on the average healthier, the consumption of goods higher, and the opportunity for advancement greater than in any other region of comparable extent."

6. The trends in the development of urbanized regions revise the old concepts of "city" and "country." The distinction lies rather between urban and agricultural regions. In the latter, trade and industry of cities serve the surrounding farm economy. In the former, farms serve chiefly urban economic and social organizations, and rural populations "derive their income from urban pursuits or commute to city jobs."

Weisbord, Bernard. Segregation, Subsidies, and Megalopolis: With Comments. (Occasional Paper No. 1 on the City. Santa Barbara: The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1964). 19pp.

Weisbord recounts the ills of American cities: physical decay; exodus of the middle class, retail trade, and manufacturing; rising welfare costs; erosion of the tax base; loss of open land to suburban sprawl; rising suburban taxes; and the glut of cars on streets and highways. These, he submits, can be cured, once segregation and the federal home building and highway programs are recognized as their chief causes. He sees the city and its suburbs as an interrelated regional whole and proposes:

1. Regional planning that would co-ordinate all governmental service and financing agencies yet allow maximum freedom to private enterprise within the regional plan framework.

2. Limiting the open land areas in which industries may locate.

3. Federal financing for planned integrated medium-density new towns provided with housing for industrial workers, industrial parks for moved or new industries, and mass transit to cities.

4. Building large middle-class neighborhoods in cities on slum sites vacated by industries and workers moved to the new towns.

5. Reforming the municipal tax system and shifting welfare costs to the federal government.

Granting that the federal policies have added to urban problems, Weisbord's critics comment that:

1. Restrictive suburban zoning promotes urban sprawl more than the federal programs do; and both accelerated, but did not cause, the trend to home and car ownership that follow affluence the world over.
2. Although car ownership and highways compete with mass transit, they permit free radial expansion whereas mass transit, limited to a few linear routes, restricts urban expansion.
3. The proposed new towns' improved housing and transit would accelerate, not decrease, the middle-class exodus from cities.
4. Weisbord's regional planning program would run into strong suburban political opposition and call for difficult political and administrative changes on all levels of government.

Rodwin, Lloyd, Editor. The Future Metropolis. New York: George Braziller, 1961. 253pp. Annotated references.

A collection of twelve scholarly essays by various specialists originally published in Daedalus, Winter 1961. Their authors consider urban history and current city planning, and discuss possibilities in the future of metropolitan regions: physical, technological, economic, political and social. They explore how the painful transition from contained cities to fused regions can be eased; what are the inherent values of metropolitan life and how they can be advanced; what form the metropolis should take and what policies it should have to make life most enjoyable; what are the possibilities for action, now and in the future, that call for greater knowledge or demand new technical, economic, or administrative means. The statements range from purely descriptive and contemplative to cautious projections, utopian fancy, and pragmatic recommendations for governmental policy.

Contents: Kevin Lynch and Lloyd Rodwin, "A World of Cities"; Oscar Handlin, "The Social System"; Raymond Vernon, "The Economics and Finances of the Large Metropolis"; Aaron Fleisher, "The Influence of Technology"; Edward C. Banfield, "The Political Implications of Metropolitan Growth"; Kevin Lynch, "The Pattern of the Metropolis"; Karl W. Deutsch, "On Social Communication and the Metropolis"; John Dyckman, "The Changing Uses of the City"; Lloyd Rodwin, "Metropolitan Policy for Developing Areas"; Gyorgy Kepes, "Notes on Expression and Communication in the Cityscape"; Morton and Lucia White, "The American Intellectual versus the American City"; and Martin Meyerson, "Utopian Traditions and the Planning of Cities."

Fortune, the Editors of. The Exploding Metropolis. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1958. 193pp. (Paperback edition, 177pp.). Illustrated. Graphs. Charts. Maps.

A collection of articles on the metropolis originally published in Fortune: William H. Whyte, Jr., "Are Cities Un-American?", September 1957; "Urban Sprawl," January 1958; Francis Bello, "The City and the Car," October 1957; Seymour Freedgood, "New Strength in City Hall," November 1957; Daniel Seligman, "The Enduring Slums," December 1957; Jane Jacobs, "Downtown Is for People," and Grady Clay, "What Makes a Good Square Good?," April 1958. (See abstract of critique by Blumenfeld, Hans, "The Exploding Metropolis").

This much debated work contends that most city "rebuilding is being designed by people who don't like cities," whose "heart is in suburbia," who design "huge (housing) projects...sterile and lifeless" because of their "deep and...arrogant mis-understanding of the functions of the city." And these designers are aided and abetted by the state and federal governments who have been "consistently favoring the country over the city in...highways and housing programs."

Whyte thinks the growth of the metropolis is discordant with the growth of the city, that suburbanization has stopped the city's "traditional strength as a unifying element of the region." He sees, and laments, the city's becoming "a place for the very poor, or the very rich, or the slightly odd," where only "here and there...there are still islands of middle-class stability." He demonstrates that middle-income housing in cities is beyond the reach of middle incomes. But he predicts that growing middle-class disillusionment with suburbia's rising taxes and lengthening journey to work will halt, and even reverse, the middle-class exodus provided cities offer good subsidized low-rise housing, play spaces, good elementary schools, and a housing quota for integration of the Negro middle-class.

Discussing "The City and the Car," Bello shows that the cost and convenience of commuting by car is competitive with public transit facilities. He doubts that this will change because: 1) Costly modern low-fare rapid transit systems are feasible only between concentration points of high-density population and high-density employment; and 2) Rising employment in the suburbs precludes future increases in suburb-to-city riders, and "there seems no way to provide efficient mass transit systems that can move people from low-density housing to factories...spotted all over the countryside." Therefore, concludes Bello, "the automobile looks like an unbeatable invention for circulating people from low-density communities to low-density activities of all kinds," and that "most cities will be doing well if they can keep existing facilities running and make modest investments to modernize them."

Freedgood ("New Strength in City Hall") describes the improvement in city governments since the 1930's and the current problems mayors face: civil service bureaucracy, independent ad hoc authorities, the struggle with rural-dominated state legislatures and suburban administrations, lack of funds, and public clamor for urban improvements. He rates America's best run cities in terms of their housekeeping and rebuilding, describes their different administrative structures, and discusses developments toward metropolitan government. He observes that although cities have improved their administrations, they lack long-range planning and "few major cities are using their plans as genuine guides for decision making."

In his "The Enduring Slums," Seligman finds that the slum problem is worst in the "biggest, richest, most industrialized cities" whose deslumming efforts failed because they continue to receive poor rural migrants who augment housing shortages and slum values. Spurred by slum speculators, the race-prejudice based exodus of whites to the suburbs expands Negro slums and makes integration of the Negro middle class especially difficult. He explains the proneness of some city districts to slum formation. Examining some statistics, Seligman shows that "the pressure on city housing is getting worse by about 400,000 persons per year," that the federal housing effort lags behind this pressure, and that Congress and the people "are exasperatingly indifferent to the problem." He describes the faults of the Title I program: deterioration of the clearance area during the long interval between conception and execution; relocation difficulties; lowered population densities and consequent population pressures on nearby areas. The public housing program, says he, is tangled in red tape. He spells out its weaknesses and predicts that its modification will favor low-rise over high-rise buildings, raise eligibility income limits, and reduce tenant regimentation. Rehabilitation programs have also failed because "banks hesitate to finance rehabilitation in borderline neighborhoods," and "strict code enforcement will never be possible until a great deal more housing is available to low- and middle-income tenants. New housing is the sine qua non of any successful slum program." Seligman quotes estimates that "it would cost something like \$100 billion, spread over a ten-year period, to wipe out the slums," and concludes: "obviously, we must settle for something considerably less than the 'total solution'."

In "Urban Sprawl," Whyte deplores the squander of open land around cities which speculative builders leave behind as they leapfrog in search of low-price land. He analyzes the self-interests of farmers, the utilities, the communities, industry, the railroads, and the big-scale developers; shows how wild sprawl hurts them; and maintains that, with some compromise, it is possible to develop a "common program that is simple, economic, and politically workable (using) existing legislative devices." He proposes: 1) Purchase or lease of open land by the state, supplemented with philanthropy; 2) State purchase of development rights; 3) Tax abatement rewards for

open land or sale of development rights; and 4) Greater control over developers' site planning.

Jane Jacobs' "Downtown Is for People" sketches the thesis of her later book The Death and Life of Great American Cities.

Grodzins, Morton. The Metropolitan Area as a Racial Problem. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958. 28pp.

His analysis of population shifts suggests to Grodzins that by 1975 the largest American metropolitan areas will probably contain seventy percent of the nation's population, attract the largest numbers of Negro in-migrants from the South, and have the larger proportion of their populations nonwhite. The social, economic, and political "consequences of the urban-suburban racial and class bifurcation, therefore, are most acute in these largest metropolitan areas." They are:

1. Social
 - a) Because the Negro population in cities increases faster than its housing supply, slums and overcrowding will spread.
 - b) New to the urban scene, the new in-migrants do not respond readily to the cities' established community controls and will continue to incur increasing resentment from the cities' older population.
 - c) Exodus of affluent whites raises the cities' percentage of low-income whites -- the most race prejudiced part of the white population. Hence inter-racial tensions will tend to increase.
 - d) Concentration of Negroes in expanded slums produces segregated schools and lowers educational standards.
2. Economic
 - a) Many business and property values decline. High-quality high-price retail businesses move to the suburbs. Standards of retail-business quality and service run down in the central business districts.
 - b) Economic losses and deterioration of the tax base lead to a host of municipal problems.
3. Political
 - a) The cities' black communities press for repeal of zoning and code restrictions on building to speed construction of desperately needed low-rent housing. This tends to extend the black ghettos and drive more whites to the suburbs.
 - b) Rising black political influences in cities tends to sharpen urban-suburban conflicts.
 - c) Because of the high economic and cultural stakes involved, the whites are likely to oppose Negro domination of cities. They may annex the white suburbs to the cities or gerrymander Negro populations to assure continued control.

To prevent such evils, the author reasons, integration is imperative. Resistance to integration, he believes, will change to acceptance as successful experiences in interracial living multiply. He discusses integration techniques, such as a free real-estate market, controls over migration, inducements to white de-suburbanization and black suburbanization or migration to small cities.

Some of the author's conclusions:

1. History and available data belie the view that the problems segregation creates in the metropolitan areas are transitory and will solve themselves through the process of acculturation. "If present trends are unaltered...segregation will continue and probably increase...." in the next fifty years.
2. Since the central cities of the big metropolitan areas dominate the nation's economic, political, and cultural life, the whole nation faces "a wide range of deleterious consequences.... This (justifies) taking all positive steps possible to end the present pattern of segregation."
3. The argument that dispersion would weaken the Negro people politically is not valid because: a) It does not consider the gains to be made through dispersion. Strained race relations always result from minority concentrations. "Where a minority group is dispersed, it is less visible...less feared, less subject to discrimination." b) "Dispersion of residential areas would not necessarily lead to decline of Negro political power.... Negroes constituting 50 per cent of the voters in two election districts...will wield more political power than if they composed 100 per cent of a single district...."

Gans, Herbert J. "The White Exodus to Suburbia Steps Up." The New York Times Magazine, January 7, 1968. pp. 25, 85, 88, 90, 92, 94, 97.

Sociologist Gans discusses the growth of suburbs, the criticism leveled against them, and the public policies needed to undo their negative effects.

His reasoning, in brief:

Suburbs will continue to proliferate and expand. Most middle-income whites prefer, and can afford, to live in suburban private homes where they can enjoy cleaner air, an up-to-date community, and escape from the expansion of black and poor neighborhoods. The poor, too, would leave the city if they could. Only single people, childless couples, professionals, and intellectuals prefer to live in a few metropolitan cities.

As the suburbs expand, metropolitan class and racial polarization will increase. More cities will become forty to fifty percent nonwhite, have more and larger ghettos, grow poorer, and face stronger suburban opposition to housing integration and to pro-city policies. The same fate will befall their closest and oldest suburbs as their white residents move to newer suburbs.

Not all the criticism leveled at suburban growth is valid. Some critics charge that the suburbs starve their residents culturally and psychologically. Yet many sociological studies refute this. Some charge that the suburbs misuse farm and recreational land. But the nation has a farmland surplus, and recreation in backyards is no less worthy than in parks. Some object to "ugly, mass-produced, look-alike boxes" betraying a class bias toward people who can afford only mass produced housing. Some object to the suburbs' costly "sprawl." But single-family houses take up more land than apartment buildings, and suburbanites prefer to pay the extra cost of highways and utilities that this requires and have the low-density housing they want. Besides, rising suburban populations will force, in time, the use of leaped-over land as well as higher densities and public transport. Some charge "that the suburbs rob the city of its tax paying, civic minded and culture loving middle class." This is only partly true. Most middle-class families demand more city services than they pay for, tend to organize only to defend their own interests, and rarely use the city's cultural facilities. But because they work in the city and own property there, they still exert political influence to protect their interests, and those so inclined commute to use the city's cultural facilities.

More valid is the charge that suburbanization effects class and racial polarization of city and suburbs. This restricts access to good housing for many people and undermines the city's financial stability. Suburbanites exploit the city. Even when payroll taxes are levied, they do not pay their share of the city's costs, while their home towns keep out the city's poor.

Continued polarization between the have's of the suburbs and the have not's of the cities will lead to greater suburban political opposition to the city, more ghetto rebellions, increased white exodus to the suburbs, greater repression of the poor, and a growing use of black political power. But the city's daytime working population and economic (hence political) power, will remain predominantly white. Polarization between city and suburbs is harmful not only for its segregational trends, but because it will make the city poorer and less likely to get the support it needs from a white federal government.

The federal government has done little to reverse this process. Its attempts to integrate black and white, to woo white suburbanites back to the city, and to promote metropolitan governments, have failed. To reverse polarization, new policies must be adopted. To wit:

1. To eliminate the property tax and with it the dependence of urban governments on rich residents and the latter's resistance to higher government spending on public welfare measures.
2. To introduce rent- and price-supplements to permit the poor to live in suburbs. To reinforce this freedom with resolute housing integration measures by legislative action if possible, by judicial action if necessary.
3. To eliminate job discrimination in the suburbs and thus widen the admission of nonwhites into unions. To extend the mass transit systems and permit city dwellers to get to jobs in the suburbs.
4. To increase school integration through high-quality urban-suburban educational parks, and to expand busing of ghetto children to suburban schools.
5. To speed raising the living standards of the poor and to rebuild the slums while integration efforts continue.
6. To decentralize city government and enable ghetto residents to exercise political power within their own communities and exert greater influence in their own behalf.

Such policies, Gans thinks, are not likely to be adopted until many more white Americans are directly affected by what goes on in the ghettos. Until then they are likely to support little more than a token effort toward racial integration.

Gruen, Victor. The Heart of Our Cities: The Urban Crisis -- Diagnosis and Cure. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1964. 368pp. Illustrated. Photos. Maps. Drawings. Plans. Diagrams. Tables.

American cities are moving "full speed ahead on a dead-end road," warns Gruen as he describes and analyzes their crisis and deplores the lack of an overall city planning strategy. All considerations, he insists, must be subordinated to the goal of rebuilding the cities as centers of culture, health, comfort, convenience and enjoyment. This, he thinks, can be best achieved in a democratic capitalist society and cities, optimistically, the progress made in European and American city renewal.

Following a critical review of utopian solutions to the problems of modern cities, the author presents a set of his own proposals. He dwells mainly on the centers ("hearts") of cities whose ills he blames on the automobile. He urges restriction of private-car use and imaginative expansion of public transportation. The streets, like privately owned land, should be restrictively zoned, he thinks, to permit only pedestrian traffic in the most restricted streets.

For the rest of the "sick" metropolitan "body" Gruen prescribes well-defined neighborhoods, communities, towns and cities, separated from each other by open recreational areas but easily accessible to each other and the metropolitan core. He wants each of these urban units to lead an individual life and have its own government. Gruen indicates the optimum size, population, and density for each segment of a hypothetical metropolis of 3,300,000 people covering 695 square miles -- a more compact but less congested pattern than most metropolitan areas have.

Mumford, Lewis. "Regional Planning and the Small Town." Journal of the American Institute of Architects, Vol. XIV, No. 1, July 1950, pp. 82-91.

Mumford thinks that although facts and statistical evidence support the widely held assumption that the metropolitan urban pattern will spread throughout the world, this may not be necessarily so. For the metropolitan economy, which thrives on the exploitation of domestic and colonial labor, is in historical decline. The disintegrating metropolis has proved to be a form of human settlement less adequate than the small town and should be reorganized.

Mumford sees the coming of a more advanced form of social and economic organization that will do away with "urban over-growth" as it will with "overconcentration of wealth and power," one that will distribute economic advantages more equitably among small towns through regional planning. The small community will become "the normal form of the city" and the natural and rural resources of regions will be safeguarded for the people's recreational enjoyment.

The new regional planning should be based on new principles: (1) recognition that cities have an organic growth limit beyond which they become ineffective, inoperative, and socially harmful; (2) as Ebenezer Howard proposed, cities should be conceived as a group of cellular units limited in size and density, each centered around its own social institutions and facilities; and (3) small towns must be nurtured and multiplied.

To Mumford, the ideal form of settlement would be a world network of regions of about 75-mile radius composed of clusters of small towns each surrounded by a limiting green belt and having a population of 20,000 to 100,000. Within the towns, population densities would not exceed 100 people per acre housed within green-core superblocks in which each family has access to a garden. Each region would exercise social controls through a regional authority dedicated to promoting the new organically balanced regional civilization.

Once people adopt the ideal of "organic balance" and it begins to guide all decisions of private and public policy then the people in the smallest community could, through co-operation, enjoy the benefits now enjoyed only in the great metropolis, and more.

Mumford points to several areas in the United States where a "happy development of the small town would be possible" if the objectives he defines were accepted; areas where industrial development had been slow, hence where "there are no obstacles except for lack of imagination and initiative to creating a regional pattern of community life."

McKaye, Benton. *The New Exploration: A Philosophy of Regional Planning.* Introduction by Lewis Mumford. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1962. 243pp. Maps. Charts. Diagrams. (First published by Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1928).

A regionalist in the tradition of Thoreau, McKaye defines his concepts of regional planning and urges rational use of natural resources. Having explored wild nature and tamed it through industrialization, says he, man has become enmeshed in a wilderness of his own making. He must embark on a new exploration to discover how industrial society might live harmoniously with nature.

Surveying the landscape, McKaye sees two "worlds": 1) "The world of the metropolis -- a complex of traffic of goods and people," and "domain of standardized existence," an unstable, "exogenous, unnatural, cacophonous environment." 2) Behind the "metropolitan world" lies the "realm of the indigenous, the "industrial watershed" -- an "innate, synphonomous environment," the abode of natural resources of life and industry, whence flow the streams of raw materials and goods. This "realm of the indigenous" also holds man's "psychologic resources," a concept McKaye defines as "human psychologic energy, or happiness" derived through beholding the beauty of a "natural setting or environment."

The "exogenous" metropolitan environment, says McKaye, invades the "indigenous" world and spoils it. "As natural men and women...we would develop the one and control the other." He describes the two "worlds" in the New England region and develops a philosophy of regional planning and a theory of channels and levels to control the "metropolitan invasion"

through: 1) conservation of natural resources, 2) control of commodity flow, and 3) development of environment. "The visualization of the potential workings of these three processes," he declares, "constitutes the new exploration -- and regional planning." The chief problem in regional planning, McKaye thinks, is to distribute the population within the region and guide its flow "into some form of indigenous (environment of real living)...and to deter it from any form of the metropolitan (environment of mere existence)."

The author appends a reprint of his article "The Townless Highway" (The New Republic, March 12, 1930) which argues for limited-access passenger-car parkways and a highway policy "...whose ultimate purpose would involve the relocation and redistribution of the American people...into appropriate communities and settings for furthering the cultural growth, and not merely the industrial expansion, of American civilization."

Stein, Clarence S. Toward New Towns for America. New York: Reinhold Publishing Corp., 1957. 263pp. (second edition). Liverpool: University Press of Liverpool, 1951 (first edition). Introduction by Lewis Mumford. Profusely illustrated with photos, plans and tables.

This work is an account of American theoretical and practical contributions (mainly by Stein and his associates) to the British Garden City and New Town ideas of Ebenezer Howard and Raymond Unwin.*

Stein's chief premises:

1. American cities, and the efforts to renew them, are doomed to failure. Urban life should be reconstructed in new towns on new sites, and the big cities should be carved up to form new towns.
2. The new towns, of small and moderate size, should form regional cities having no single center but rather many separate, specialized centers. They should be set apart "by great areas of natural green, but bound closely together in time-distance by freeways."
3. New town planning should be entrusted to the architect, rather than the city planner, because his positive and constructive training and experience fits him best for this task. Traditional city planning deals merely with two-dimensional diagramming, circulation and negative regulation (zoning).

* See abstracts of Howard, Ebenezer, Garden Cities of Tomorrow and Unwin, Sir Raymond, Nothing Gained by Overcrowding. For the British experience with new towns see abstract of: Rodwin, Lloyd, The British New Towns. For refutation of the New Town approach to urban reconstruction see abstracts of: Jacobs, Jane, The Death and Life of Great American Cities; Gottman, Jean, Megalopolis; Blumenfeld, Hans, "The Modern Metropolis."

4. To play the role of town planner, "the architect must change his approach from dealing with individual buildings to dealing with the whole environment," identify genuinely with the people, rid himself of overemphasis on esthetics, "shun dogma, and take a critical, scientific approach to his professional duties."

Stein deemed it wise to republish his work in 1957 because the current stress on national defense and advocacy of dispersal in the atomic age presented new opportunities to the New Town idea. "Fortunately," says he, "the best policy for peace and for defense are the same: orderly, related dispersal of workers and working places in limited-size communities, surrounded by open country."

As a guide to the construction of new towns, Stein discusses the community projects he and his associates created: Radburn (1928), Chatham Village (1929), Phipps Garden Apartments (1930), Hillside Homes (1932), the Greenbelt towns (1935-1937), and Baldwin Hills Village (1941). Each of the projects, roundly described in a separate chapter, is illuminated with drawings, statistics, cost analysis, and post-construction evaluations.

Foley, Donald L. Controlling London's Growth: Planning the Great Wen, 1940-1960. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963. 224pp. Tables. Maps. Charts.

Foley reports to American readers on the planning for the London metropolitan region "contained in a disconnected series of reports, plans, memoranda, debates, and assumptions rather than in a single master plan." Although this planning had some serious failures, says Foley, "no single example of planning for any large American metropolitan area can match the London experience and results." American metropolitan areas still resort to piecemeal measures to alleviate total breakdown and have totally lacked positive, comprehensive planning. London's experience "has implications for (other) metropolitan areas...that are seeking solutions to comparable problems (of) unanticipated growth, technological and functional changes, governmental chaos, and the reformulation of social requirements." To assure orderly metropolitan growth, comprehensive planning must advance "guiding concepts that may depart from traditionally accepted concepts."

The work discusses: (1) The genesis, implementation, successes and failures of policies which have guided London's growth for twenty five years; (2) The social doctrine behind these policies which crystallized from long held British planning ideas, and the principle of "containing" metropolitan London; and (3) The suitability of this doctrine and current planning policies in the light of development in recent years.

Self, Peter. Cities in Flood: The Problem of Urban Growth. London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1961 (revised second edition, first edition in 1958). 189pp. Illustrated. Photos. Maps. Charts. Introduction by F. J. Osborn.

A comprehensive critique of British planning policies and practices since World War II and proposals to reform them. The work deals with British attempts to decentralize population and employment and improve land use, the current crisis in these attempts, the prospects that lie ahead of them, and the socio-economic program needed to improve them. It discusses the growth of British metropolitan areas ("conurbations"), the meaning of congestion and the futility of high densities, the need for population dispersal, the fallacy of rural conservatism, the dominance of industrial location, and the achievements and failings of the national and local governments.

In Britain as in the United States, big cities grow into metropolises for similar reasons: (1) Wide automobile ownership and rising incomes prompt families to move to the suburbs to better their living conditions. (2) Migration to big cities increases as their employment opportunities expand. (3) Specialization begets a great variety of interdependent services in the center and these successfully compete with industry for space. (4) Priced out of the land market in the city's center, industry moves to the city's periphery.

But this process proceeds imperfectly. Many establishments which could leave the center remain there and overload it because hidden subsidies permit them to stay and the scale of their investment in the center discourages relocation. Jobs retained in the center increase commutation to and from bedroom suburbs and overload transport facilities. Uncontrolled extensive suburban development creates sprawl, spoils the countryside, and complicates governmental functions. The need to curb the growth of metropolises, Self concludes, is greater than ever, and large-scale public land ownership for successful planning has become essential.

For several reasons, the author states, the effectiveness of planning in England has weakened:

1. National policies and administration lack coherence.
2. The original postwar urban reform ideals have been sacrificed to economic opportunism and political expediency. No new towns have been designated since 1950.
3. Planning has been increasingly localized and had become bogged down in "routine controls for limited ends."
4. Private developers are shown increasing leniency at the expense of long-range public interest.

5. Little progress is being made in rebuilding city centers.

6. Planning has been adversely affected by "an almost fanatical approach to the protection of agricultural land."

Self advocates two national objectives in a proposed revision of the postwar "Barlow" policy: (1) a more even inter-regional distribution of economic advance, and (2) a more even intra-regional distribution of employment and population. Specifically, he advocates:

1. To limit "the more routine and standardized operations of business, industry, and government" in the overpopulated centers and expand such jobs in underpopulated centers.
2. To clearly define the places of economic development and population resettlement in compactly planned new towns or redeveloped small and medium towns.
3. To offer equal, or better, housing and living conditions in the resettlement areas than in the big centers.
4. To plan, in advance, modern public transport facilities in the resettlement areas to reduce reliance on the private car and avoid costly expansion of highways.
5. To separate the new-town and public housing programs. To retain public initiative in site selection and land acquisition and ownership, but encourage private enterprise in the development of towns.
6. To recognize that present-day socio-economic problems are regional in scope and need planning on a regional scale under a system of local and regional government.
7. To set up regional committees sponsored by the central government where local governments "can be persuaded both to resolve their differences and to think in broader terms."

Unwin, Sir Raymond. Nothing Gained by Overcrowding. A pamphlet of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association. Letchworth, England: Garden Cities Press, Ltd., 1918 (third edition). 23pp.

This classic work exposed the speculative developer's reckless sacrifice of recreation space to roads, led to the open plan of British housing projects, and aided suburban and new-town promotion the world over.

Unwin compares the cost of two subdivisions of equal area and lot frontage: one -- a typical speculative builder's plan of row houses and small yards lined along several streets, the other -- a super-block plan with less street area, about half the lots in the first, larger yards and large central park areas.

Assuming a low cost of land and a high cost of roadwork -- the norm in rural areas -- Unwin demonstrates that:

1. The greater the number of houses crowded upon the land the more road length needed per house, the greater the waste of land, and the greater the cost per unit of developed land.
2. Since fewer houses are built per acre in garden-city-development, land sellers would profit by selling more land at a lower price per acre.

Unwin also shows that a higher land-per-house ratio would not materially increase the distance from the center to the periphery of a planned town since the area of a circle increases in proportion to the square of the distance from the center, and town planning would lead to economy in land use. He urges a legal limit upon the number of houses to be built per acre in new-town development, and advises the fast growing town to direct its excess growth to a federated cluster of ringing suburbs, separated from it and from each other by green belts.

Rodwin, Lloyd. The British New Towns Policy: Problems and Implications. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956. 247pp.

The British planning and building of fifteen new towns within a few years -- unique in the urban history of the capitalist nations -- commands the attention of city planners the world over.

In this chronicle, Rodwin critically examines the new towns as he relates the theoretical problems and practical difficulties their planners and builders have faced. He reviews the Garden City movement -- the fountainhead of the New Town policy and program -- British town development legislation, British national planning and resource allocation, the histories of the several new towns, and estimates the new towns' ultimate significance.

The British middle-class reformist Garden City movement, states Rodwin, owes its practical success to a unique set of historic circumstances: long and widespread discontent with urban disorder, ugliness and dangers; wild urban sprawl; war destruction; and the postwar Labor Party victory. But because it misjudged the vitality and advantages of big cities, population growth and migration trends, financing problems, and political reality, its teachings yielded grotesque results in their application.

The New Towns Act tried, but failed, to decongest London by ringing it with fifteen socially and physically "balanced" new towns that would syphon the city's population and industrial "overspill." To accomplish this, it established presumably self-liquidating public development corporations financed by long-term, low-interest government loans. These

were vested with powers to plan, acquire land, build, manage and sell, and control the form and the social and economic nature of new towns.

While their construction, says the author, proved the feasibility of public town building, the ultimate worth of the new towns remains doubtful due to: 1) absence of control powers over the movement and location of industrial and business enterprises; 2) absence of long-rational national and regional planning and resource allocation; 3) poor links with existing cities and towns; 4) contradiction between the New Towns and other national policies; and 5) pragmatism and resort to expediency that preclude development of essential research and theory.

The administrative entanglements, financial difficulties and public criticism that befell the new towns are remediable, the author thinks, provided the New Towns program becomes an indispensable government policy commitment. He sees progress in the later passage of the Town Development Act which permitted town development in different regions and greater freedom in town planning and building methods. But it is becoming "distressingly evident," he concludes, "that...successful implementation (of town planning) presupposes a fairly coherent alignment of national, regional and local programs and policies."

Drawing implications to city planning theory from the British experience, Rodwin-points to the valuable data in the records of the new towns and the latter's "tremendous possibilities as a field laboratory."

Of the three appendixes to the work, the first two document the training of British planners and the organization and functions of British local government. The third consists of a collection of photographs illustrating "the look of the new towns."

Madge, John. "The New Towns Program in Britain." Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. XXVIII, No. 4, November 1962, pp. 208-219. Illustrated.

The idea of planned new satellite or "overspill" towns to relieve congested metropolitan areas was born, and has been most widely applied, in Britain. This article reports the evolution of the British new towns since the famed 1956 Rodwin chronicle was published.* It sketches the background of the new-town movement which began with nineteenth-century utopian reformers Robert Owen and Ebenezer Howard; discusses the economics of the British new towns; and relates, briefly, the social-work services offered to new settlers to help them through the dislocation-adjustment period.

*See abstract of The British New Town Policy by Lloyd Rodwin.

Blumenfeld, Hans. "Alternative Solutions for Metropolitan Development." Planning 1948: Yearbook of the American Society of Planning Officials, pp. 15-24. (Also in the author's The Modern Metropolis: Its Origins, Growth, Characteristics, and Planning. Selected Essays. pp. 38-49).

Blumenfeld considers the validity of proposals to disperse big cities into self-contained "garden cities" or "new towns" as an alternative to metropolitan growth. Stating briefly his analysis of the metropolis, he refutes the premises and principles on which such advocacy is based and explains the failure of the British New Towns to achieve their goals. Advocacy of dispersal, he warns, flies in the face of the historic trend "toward concentration and decentralization: concentration from the country -- in all countries -- into relatively few metropolitan areas; and decentralization within these areas."

"The fixation on the 'New Town'....," he concludes, "is rooted in a conscious or unconscious desire to escape from the complexities of our rapidly changing times into a simpler and stabler world that...cannot exist today." Nor would it be desirable if it could, for "an unchanging environment certainly would be negation of the very essence of our civilization."

Friedman, John and William Alonso, Editors. Regional Development and Planning: A Reader. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1964. 722pp. Charts. Graphs. Maps. Tables. Bibliography.

A collection of thirty-five major contributions to regional growth theory and planning (written mostly since 1955) by forty-four specialists in economics, geography, political science and land economics. The volume avoids the traditional views of regional planning as cconservation or resources management, as metropolitan planning, or as means of "regionalism." Rather, it invites realistic thought on regional policy as a component in national development planning.

The editors grouped the selected works into five parts. The first, "Space and Planning," introduces the chief regional policy issues affecting national planning. The second, "Location and Spatial Organization," describes the spatial aspects of an economy. The thiri, "Theory of Regional Development," explains the different patterns, sequences, and rates of economic growth. The fourth, "National Policy for Regional Development," Jeals with the organization, goals, and strategy of regional development. The fifth, "A Guide to the Literature," comprises an annotated bibliography of 184 titles. In their general "Introduction," the editors sum up the basic concepts in the field and the major questions of regicnal policy; and in their introductions to each of the five parts, they relate the individual contributions to each other and to the larger issues.

As a whole, the volume is concerned with aspects of national policy for regional economic development: location theory; theory of spatial organization; the roles of resources, migration and the city in regional development; the problems of peripheral rural areas; the definition of regions; the concept of planning regions; objectives and measures of regional development; regional investment criteria; and institutional aspects of regional development.

Yale University, Directive Committee on Regional Planning. The Case for Regional Planning: With Special Reference to New England. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1947. 94pp. Maps. Charts.

Using the New England region as an example, the Committee's study:

1. Stresses the need for regional planning in the U.S.A.
2. Criticizes the opposition to formal governmental planning in the U.S.A. as an irrational ideological aberration stemming from antagonism toward socialism and its advocacy of a planned society.
3. Explains the several concepts of "region," then defines and discusses the region as a planning unit.
4. Suggests the administrative forms for implementation of regional planning within the framework of the American social order, ideology, and governmental system.
5. Indicates the relevant questions regional planning must ask and answer "to take and maintain an adequate inventory of (the region's) potentialities, its achievements, and its efficiency."
6. Cites the informal and ad hoc regional planning precedents in the U.S.A. (TVA, interstate compacts).

The study appends Asa Daniel Sokolow's "Governmental Techniques for Conservation and Utilization of Water Resources: An Analysis and Proposal" (Yale Law Journal, January 1947), which demonstrates the need for legal fusion of national and local powers into a single agency to tackle problems that cross lines of political jurisdictions and remain unsolved for lack of such fusion.

Isard, Walter. Location and Space-Economy: A General Theory Relating to Industrial Location, Market Areas, Land Use, Trade, and Urban Structure. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc. and The Technology Press of The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1956. 350pp. Charts. Diagrams.

Hoping to advance the spatial and regional frameworks of the social sciences, Isard tries to improve the theory of location and space-economy. He shows: (1) how its general principles and constructs are useful in seeing the operations of real economic processes; (2) how the interplay of social and economic forces determine plant location, industrial concentrations, and the geographic spread of industry among the world's regions and nations; and (3) how the trade and location theories interrelate and how they can be applied to city planning, urban renewal, land use, and marketing analysis.

This volume develops only general theory. The practical application of its principles to specific real problems is assigned to the second volume -- Methods of Regional Analysis: An Introduction to Regional Science (see abstract). The two volumes, therefore, form a single unit.

Isard, Walter. Methods of Regional Analysis: An Introduction to Regional Science. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc. and The Technology Press of The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1960. 784pp. Tables. Charts. Diagrams.

This volume, the sequel to the author's Location and Space-Economy (see abstract) is a practical application of the general theory developed in the latter. In it, Isard presents the major elements of established techniques of regional analysis showing the virtues and limitations of each in practical application. The work synthesizes the several location theories and fuses the resulting doctrine with existing production, price, and trade theory.

Isard implements the theory with operational techniques: (1) techniques for estimating basic magnitudes in the space-economy and in each region of the space-economy system; (2) "techniques for estimating the size of a market at any given point..." in a space-economy system; (3) techniques for population projection, to determine market size, based on birth and death rates and in- and out-migrations as the latter are affected by economic and employment opportunities; and (4) techniques for estimating region incomes in terms of wages, salaries, dividends, interest, profits, rents, etc.

Perloff, Harvey S., Edgar S. Dunn, Jr., Eric E. Lampard and Richard F. Muth. Regions, Resources, and Economic Growth.* Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1960. 716pp. Tables. Maps. Charts.

This work compiles fact, interpretation, and theory, supported by vast statistical data, on regional economic development in the United States. It aims to furnish information and insights to those concerned with various aspects of economic growth and decline as well as with natural resources, and to provide a conceptual and methodological framework for scholars working in regional economics and related fields.

Economic growth has varied widely among the country's geographic regions. While some have expanded, others have declined. "This differential growth strongly influences the development and use of natural resources which, in turn, have an important effect on regional growth patterns." The study tries to reveal this involved relationship by examining, within the framework of differential regional growth, the use of the natural resources through farming, forestry, fishing, and mining.

The first part of the five-part volume reviews American regional economic growth since 1870 and examines more closely the growth between 1939 and 1954. The second discusses theories of economic growth and presents the book's theoretical and methodological framework. The third examines regional economic development from the early part of the 19th century with emphasis on the spatial distribution of population, income, and economic activities from 1870 to 1950. The fourth analyzes the social and economic forces behind recent locational shifts in industry and the impact of these shifts on the economic growth of the several regions. The fifth analysis the chief causes of regional differences in per-capita income and rate of growth.

Blumenfeld, Hans. The Modern Metropolis: Its Origins, Growth, Characteristics, and Planning. Selected Essays. Edited by Paul D. Spreiregen. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1967. 377pp. Illustrated. Photos. Sketches. Plans. Maps. Charts. Diagrams.

A collection of thirty-three essays by one of the foremost thinkers in city planning, most of them published in various periodicals between 1943 and 1965 and some read at various conferences. They cover a wide range of subjects on cities in general and on the modern metropolis in particular. Each of the essays profoundly illuminates its subject; collectively, however, they form a complete theoretical framework. Following a dialectical analysis of the development of cities in the history of western civilization Blumenfeld explores the whole

*For an abbreviated summary of this work, containing data from the 1958 Census of Manufacture and the 1960 Census of population, see Perloff, Harvey S. and Vera W. Dodd, How a Region Grows: Area Development in the United States Economy. New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1963. 147pp.

field of city planning: the development of city forms, metropolitan and regional planning, residential areas, transportation, urban renewal, urban design, and methodology of planning. "Along the way," in the words of one reviewer, he "stops to puncture conventional wisdoms, take issues with leading planners, toss out provocative ideas, and methodically confirm or refute leading hypotheses of the day."

Appendix A of the volume presents the author's professional resume. Appendix B lists his other essays not included in the present volume.

Blumenfeld, Hans. "The Tidal Wave of Metropolitan Expansion." Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 20, No. 1, Winter 1954, pp. 3-14. (Also in the author's The Modern Metropolis: Its Origins, Growth, Characteristics, and Planning. Selected Essays).

A report of the author's study of past population shifts in the Philadelphia area made in search of a possible predictability of future population movements and a sounder basis for metropolitan planning. Blumenfeld measured the rate of population growth in three 30-year periods (1860-1890 -- the railroad age, 1890-1920 -- the street car age, and 1920-1950 -- the automobile age) over concentric zones spaced one mile apart from the city's center.

Some of his findings and conclusions:

1. Metropolitan expansion results from the interaction of two population streams: country to city, and city to suburbs, with the latter gradually overwhelming the former.
2. Population spreads from the center to the periphery with great regularity and consistently decreases the density as it spreads.
3. In time, the density pattern becomes more consistently concentric over an ever widening area. Thus metropolitan expansion centralizes as it decentralizes: the center extends its influence ever farther as it engulfs communities along the way.
4. As expansion progresses, population and density decrease regularly at the center and increase in the periphery tending to equalize over the metropolitan area.
5. "In the process of expansion the concentric zones, from the center out, one after another go through subsequent phases of slow growth, rapid growth, levelling off, and decrease."

6. "The rate of growth in any given period increases rather steeply up to a certain distance from the center, then gradually decreases and levels off. This zone of most rapid growth may be regarded as the crest of the wave of urban expansion." In Philadelphia, this crest "moved at the speed of one mile per decade."

7. "The extreme regularity of the trend suggests the possibility of extrapolation as a basis for prediction of population distribution within metropolitan areas."

Blumenfeld, Hans. "Regional Planning." Plan: Town Planning Institute of Canada, June 1960, pp. 122-124. (Also in author's The Modern Metropolis: Its Origins, Growth, Characteristics, and Planning. Selected Essays. pp. 84-87).

Regional planning originated, says Blumenfeld, when local physical planning converged with departmental functional planning and then extended toward attempts to integrate interactions between communities on a regional scale.

A planning region, says he, is a typically heterogeneous area "within which interaction is more intense than is its interaction with other areas." He briefly describes the methods used to measure the intensity of interaction in an area in order to determine the extent of a planning region. Either natural, political, or administrative borders may be used to define its boundaries. But since the web of social interaction is endless, any defined boundary "will be an inadequate compromise with conflicting existing conditions" made more adequate by its adoption.

The major concerns of regional planning are the uses of land and water and the development of transportation. These largely determine the distribution of a region's economic activities.

The author distinguishes between "monocentric" and "polycentric" regions. The first develops from one large urban center which generates a drive for planning within its region. The second develops where several closely spaced urban centers exist. In the latter, the drive for regional planning "will generally have to be initiated by a larger (administrative) unit."

Blumenfeld, Hans. "The Exploding Metropolis." Monthly Review, Vol. 10, No. 12, April 1959, pp. 476-486. (Also in the author's The Modern Metropolis: Its Origins, Growth, Characteristics, and Planning. Selected Essays).

A critical review of The Exploding Metropolis by the editors of Fortune (see abstract of Fortune, the editors of, The Exploding Metropolis). Blumenfeld recommends the work as "the best introduction to the problems of metropolitan development" despite this criticism:

1. Although the authors' appraisal of metropolitan development reflects that of advanced planners and architects, they tend to blame metropolitan evils on the "specialists" "and appeal against them to...business and political leaders."
2. The authors imply that the drastic measures they propose can be carried out without any change in the metropolitan legal, political and social-economic structures.
3. The authors misinterpret the long evolutionary expansion of cities as an "explosion" and fail to understand that "this cumulative growth is now being transformed into a qualitative change." The metropolis -- the revolutionary product of the steady quantitative change -- is a qualitatively new form of human settlement. "The city, which for six thousand years has existed as one basic form of human settlement, together with and opposed to the country, is transmitted into...the metropolitan area...which is neither city nor country, but partakes of the characteristic of both."
4. The authors "think in conventional terms of 'city' versus 'suburbs.' But...the entire area can only be understood as one unit, spreading from the center in increasingly newer and less intensely used rings; it can be meaningfully analyzed only in terms of these concentric rings." In this expansion process the "center" and the "periphery" are "dialectically united opposites" as the first extends and intensifies its dominance over the latter.
5. Whyte's analysis and proposals avoid the crucial issues. He:
 - a) Tends "to blame it all on 'technicians'";
 - b) Champions middle-income housing subsidy but ignores the "all-but-strangled subsidy program for housing of low-income families";
 - c) Is always conscious of the middle class and "forgets the many more numerous low-income service workers employed in the central city";
 - d) "Refuses to see that attempts to lure upper- and middle-class groups 'back to the city' by millions of federal subsidies implies displacing ever greater numbers of low-income families";

e) Misses the connection between the profitability of the slums and of urban redevelopment coupled with the indifference or hostility of Congress towards low-rent housing programs and the tendency to blame the spread of slums on "the failure of rural migrants to learn urban ways of living";

f) Duly criticizes "the very real faults of the United States public housing program -- the demoralization income limits, the crowding of children into huge elevator blocks, the regimentation ---without any recognition that they result from the limitations imposed on public housing by its enemies";

g) Demonstrates that the threat to open land beyond the city, because of the "leapfrog" nature of urban growth, is against everybody's interests, but "does not explain that it occurs because the 'leaped-over' land is held in speculative hope of higher prices. Yet this is the core of the matter."

6. Bello's "The City and the Car" is an "incisive analysis" but the author omitted "the social cost of flooding the city with automobiles (accidents, air pollution, nervous strain, interference with pedestrian and other traffic)" from his comparative cost analysis of car versus transit commutation.

7. Miss Jacobs' reason for proliferation of large scale development projects as the citizens' fascination "by the sheer process of rebuilding" is a "strange idealistic interpretation...hardly supported by the evidence." Rather, "the huge projects are fascinating to the real estate owner who can get rid of run-down properties...to the developer...who can get a downtown site cheaply, most of all to the City Fathers...whom it enables to get rid of slum dwellers -- who do not pay much in taxes and require a lot of services -- and replace them with...'middle-income' households with few children."

"Why then," asks Blumenfeld in conclusion, "have (municipal administrations) not changed the alarming course of events described (in the book)? What prevents them? What is required to do the job? The Fortune editors do not raise this question. Yet it is not too difficult to define the conditions which are both necessary and sufficient to solve the problems of metropolitan development. They are: (1) metropolitan government, (2) adequate financial resources, (3) public ownership of all or most of the development land, and (4) a large program of public housing on open land. These conditions do not require socialism; all of them have been realized in capitalist democracies.... Explicitly or implicitly, the authors of The Exploding Metropolis reject these solutions. Their critique is sharp, but their proposals are timid or utopian, often both."

Blumenfeld, Hans. "The Urban Pattern." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 352, March 1964, pp. 74-83 (also in The Modern Metropolis: Its Origins, Growth, Characteristics and Planning. Selected Essays by Hans Blumenfeld.)

Blumenfeld here expands his analysis of the metropolis as a qualitatively new form of settlement (see abstracts of the author's other essays on the metropolis).

The metropolis exists because it offers, above all, mutual accessibility of places of residence and place of work. It "extends as far as daily commuting extends, and no farther. However, its influence extends over (the) wider area (of the) 'metropolitan region,' generally up to a time distance of about two hours from (its) center." Firms and families favor location in the region's satellite towns for their accessibility to the great and varied market, supplies, business, and services of the metropolis. The rapid growth of wide ranging recreational facilities near big cities increasingly contribute to shaping the pattern of the metropolitan region. As leisure time increases, this little explored phenomenon "may ultimately influence the pattern of the metropolis itself."

The author describes further the differences between city and metropolis, and the economic and land-use change that take place during a city's growth into a metropolis. The physical pattern these changes trace over a metropolitan area, he notes, is modified by the area's topography and transportation. Reviewing the impact of transportation on city growth, Blumenfeld points out that in the old "foot-and-hoof" city "time distances tend to be proportional to straight-line distances, and the overall form of settlement tends to be circular." In the steam-railroad era, intercity passengers rode on fast trains and walked from stations. The widely spaced stations strung out suburbs along long lines, and the on-foot movement from stations shaped the suburbs into small circular dots with a small commercial center at each station. Later, the more frequent stops of the slower electric streetcar merged the dots into solid and shorter lines with commercial centers at their intersections. But the automobile reversed the linear trend and "reproduced, on a vastly larger scale, the circular form of the foot-and-hoof city." The city patterns developed in the railroad and streetcar eras "was submerged in universal sprawl. 'Developments' were scattered all over the metropolitan area...."

In the metropolitan area, family composition and income determine the pattern of residential locations. Single adults and childless couples tend to live in the center. In the concentric zones, from the center outward, the proportion of families with children progressively increases. This "pattern of residential distribution by family type is entirely voluntary, deliberate and rational." Most families with children who live in the center do so "not by choice but by economic compulsion."

Blumenfeld, Hans. "The Modern Metropolis." Scientific American, Vol. 213, No. 3, September 1965, pp. 64-74. Illustrated. (Also in the author's The Modern Metropolis: Its Origins, Growth, Characteristics, and Planning. Selected Essays. See abstract.)

The author develops his thesis on the meaning of "metropolis." He traces the evolution of the industrial city, identifies the factors that changed it into a metropolis, and indicates the distinction between the two. He then states:

1. The metropolis is the revolutionary emergence of the city, after a century of evolution, into a new and different form of settlement. It and its region -- the suburbs and surrounding country -- are an interrelated whole, the outer areas being strongly influenced by the center.
2. The metropolis is "a concentration of at least 500,000 people living within an area in which the travelling time from the outskirts to the center is no more than 40 minutes... in the principal vehicle of transportation.... (This) measure of mutual accessibility among its various parts... determines its total size."
3. The essence of the metropolis is its breadth of choice for workers, employers and consumers provided by its large inventories of goods, transport facilities and a variety of specialized services. These "constitute the...economic base (and strength) of the metropolis."
4. "The feedback cycle of metropolitan growth enlarging freedom of choice and freedom of choice in turn attracting further growth has given the metropolis amazing vitality and staying power." This is demonstrated by the quick reconstruction of European war-torn metropolises and the failure of attempts to halt the growth of metropolises even in socialist countries.
5. Means are available for solving the metropolitan physical problems such as traffic congestion and air and water pollution. And the social problems of slum blight and class segregation "can be over-come by enabling the lower-income groups to live in decent houses in desirable locations...along with the middle and upper classes."
6. There is little substance to the accusations that (1) "the metropolis can exist only by draining the countryside of its economic, demographic and social strength," (2) that it "has dissolved...family and neighborhood ties...and has produced anomie," and (3) that it inherently necessitates either high residential densities or long journeys to work.

7. The metropolis is in no danger of choking itself by uncontrolled growth. Market forces "act to control overcrowding at the center..." by generating there "a qualitative change in the direction of concentration on 'higher order' functions and at the same time...maintaining stability in quantitative terms."

8. The metropolitan area is distinct from a "conurbation" or "megalopolis." The former is mononuclear in form -- it derives its identity from a single center. The latter "occur only when the crest of the waves of two (or more) expanding centers overlap."

9. The spatial organization of the four main components of a metropolis -- the central business complex, manufacturing, housing, and open land -- should: (1) "minimize the need for commuting to work...(yet) maximize the ability to do so; (2) "provide quick access to the center of the city and also quick access to the open country"; (3) integrate, yet separate, the functions of the metropolis; (4) provide citizen identification "with their own neighborhood or group and with the metropolis as a whole."

10. The most realistic of the schemes proposed for shaping the future growth of the metropolis is "the 'stellar' or 'finger' metropolis. It would retain the center and thrust out fingers in all directions. Each finger would be composed of a string of towns...connected to one another and the metropolitan center by a rapid transit line. Between the fingers would be large wedges of open space.... The metropolis would grow by extending the fingers."

11. Implementation of needed controls for planned metropolitan growth is bound to come into conflict with the existing vested interests of landowners and municipalities.... (But such controls) have been carried out...(in Europe) within the framework of democratic capitalism."

12. "In the long run the development of the metropolis is likely to be influenced most powerfully by improvements in transportation and communication and by the increase in leisure time. The first may lead to an expansion of the metropolis.... The second, depending on future developments in mankind's social structure and culture, may lead to... 'bread and circus' or to...leisure with dignity. Both are possible in the metropolis."

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